175 equal rights with the German nobility in the self-
186 government of the country, at the same time attempting to establish friendly relations with the Russian government in the hope of winning its support. But these efforts were doomed to failure for the Russians and the Germans had already initiated a suffocation campaign against the Baltic national movements.

175 The decade of the 1880 s was a period of deep
177 disillusionment for the Estonians after the hopeful time of the Awakening. The Slavophiles were quite influential, their aim being to Russianize the border provinces of the Russian Empire. This was not an easy task, since the National Awakening had made the people conscious of their heritage and proud of their culture. Illiteracy, for example, had been practically abolished in Estonia during this time

175 but now Russification was carefully forced upon
177 the population, especially in connection with the schools, courts, and the police system. Russian became the language taught in the schools, and those teachers who spoke no Russian were often replaced by native Russians. Russian clerks and officials were imported to Estonia. The leaders of this Russification movement were the special governors in Estonia and Livonia, while local government remained in the hands of the German nobles. In order to prevent native leaders from rising, the usual policy was to send those Estonians with a university education to Russia rather than to give them positions in their homeland.

175 The two prominent Estonian leaders of the
668 period, Jakob Hurt and C. R. Jakobson, instead of uniting in the struggle for national unity

85 per cent of whom left Estonia in the fall of 1939 and settled in Germany.

Since German has always been taught in Estonian schools it is undoubtedly the best known foreign language in this country. This situation has probably not been too much changed even now, after ten years of Soviet occupation. Together with knowledge of the language, German cultural influence has also been incomparably greater than Russian influence. During the independence of Estonia, Russian was not taught in Estonian schools except in the commercial schools and a few others, so that the generation which grew up during this period does not speak Russian. When the Soviet occupation began Russian was required in every type of school. By this time the younger generation certainly has mastered Russian as well as their

191 predecessors did under Czarist rule.
871

The middle-aged generation which received a secondary education during independence times has some knowledge of English, which was then taught as the first or second foreign language in the majority of the schools. According to reports from occupied Estonia, the Russians have completely dropped English from the school curriculum and accordingly the younger generation knows only Russian and German.

In fourth place would be a knowledge of the French language. This language was taught in a few schools during the independence period and was taught slightly more during the czarist regime. There are few people who read French and still fewer who can speak it.

A condsiderable number of younger people
191
• 177 would also understand Finnish. Besides the fact
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[192]
[191]
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that their languages are closely related, the Estonians and Finns have maintained for almost a century an interest in each other and a warm cultural intercourse. This started during the National Awakening[1] and grew into an enthusiastic movement during the independence period. Various student and professional organizations, for example, had yearly joint conferences with corresponding Finnish organizations.

101 The name Estonian (eesti keel) has come fairly recently into use. Formerly the Estonians called their language maa keel 'country language' and the people who spoke this language maa rahvas 'country people.' The terms Eesti and eesti keel came into use around the middle of the nineteenth century. These words are explained as originating from Tacitus's Germanis XLV in which Aestii, Aestiorum gentes are mentioned

[1] [SEE cat. 116, -99- pp 26-33 - Analyst]

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

developed from the Northern Estonian dialect. Beginning with the first known Estonian printed book, Wanradt and Koell's Catechism, 1535, for some two hundred years both Southern and Northern Estonian were competing for supremacy as the literary language. The printing of the first Estonian Bible in 1739 finally decided the struggle; Northern Estonian decidedly became the literary and most commonly known language of the Estonians. For several centuries literary Estonian was under the strong influence of the German language. German orthography prevailed until the middle of the nineteenth century, when E. Ahrens' grammar established rules for a more phonetical spelling closer to the Finnish method. But a German-like word order and other grammatical influences still remained until the twentieth century.

883 belonged young people outside of the schools as
186 well as young adults. It stood for support of an original national culture, national dances, libraries, theater and music. In 1940 it had 310 branches with 16,000 members.

• 177 Noorte Meeste Kristlik Ühing (YMCA) was
883 founded in 1920 by representatives of the American association. In 1939 it had over 7000 members.

Noorte Naiste Kristlik Ühing (YWCA) was founded in 1921 also by Americans. In 1936 it had 3955 adults and 1459 young members.

All these above-mentioned organizations were liquidated during the first Communist Occupation and only Communist Youth organizations are operative now in the Estonian SSR (see also Subparagraph 1j, EDUCATION, p. 13).[1]

[1] [correction; See cat. 116, -131- pp. 230-231- - Analyst]

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1i,

Sociological Background

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

000 In the following chapter are treated only the fine arts in Estonia, whereas the liberal arts are excluded. Some idea of the development of the liberal arts and their importance is given in the chapter which deals with higher education.

814 The methods in the liberal arts have been those ●177 of Western Europe as a whole, especially in the sciences. In the so-called "national sciences" (Estonian and other Finno-Ugric languages, the history of Estonia and the northern countries, archeology, ethnography, folklore) there was close co-operation with Finland and to some extent also with Sweden, partly because several Estonian university instructors had received their higher education at Helsinki University and

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

814 because several Finnish and Swedish scholars
•177 helped to lay a foundation for the teaching of national sciences in the first years of Tartu
000 University. In this chapter there will be only scattered references to the Baltic German fine arts.

517 Of all the fine arts the most popular among the Estonians have been literature, music, and the theater, all of which are founded on native traditions, especially Estonian literature and
[554] music. Writers, artists and intellectuals have enjoyed real prestige in the culture, although they never have received kingly royalities and have always lived modestly. The Estonian Republic used to pay permanent subsidies to outstanding writers and artists from the Cultural Fund.[1] These payments, although modest, secured for these writers and artists a minimum

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 55-56-153. --Analyst]

538 [177]

Folk tales are usually more international in character than the songs. Two streams of tales have collided in Estonia: Russian and German, the latter distinctly dominating. There is an abundance of tales dealing with magical themes, but relatively few historical and animal tales. Kreutzwald[1] made popular the German Reinecke Fuchs tales (Reinuvader rebane). Tales of orphans and cross stepmothers are well-known. Despite the hardships of slavery to which the Estonians have been subjected, there are a lot of humorous tales, among them the very popular tales of the Shrewd Ants and the Old Headen (Kaval Ants ja Vanapagan), in which Vanapagan is a dupe with great physical power whom Ants always outsmarts. Many types of people are targets of folk humor; stingy and lazy persons, tailors, soldiers, students and

522 539

1 [See cat. 116, p. 155-- -165- Analyst]

538 professors, nobles, Setus, gypsies, Jews and
[522]
city people. Many tales explain the origin of rivers, lakes, hills, swamps, and forests and the creation of certain animals.

177 Folk religion. Of special interest is Estonian
771
folk religion. The geographical situation of Estonia has encouraged numerous borrowings in folk religion from Goth, German, Swede, Russian and Baltic neighbors. At present, more research is needed to differentiate between the original and borrowed elements. German influence appears to be the most overwhelming, and can be traced in almost any type of belief. These beliefs are used today more as literary and artistic subjects than as real superstitions or beliefs in everyday life.

771 The basic characteristics of Estonian folk

775 jealous persons or criminals, were thought to become revengeful demons (kodukäija), the term being a translation of the German Heimgänger.

[753] These demons were said to be the cause of sickness and other trouble. Nightmares and plagues were believed to be caused by spirits

[77] or by the dead, and death appeared under Chris-

[76] tian-German influence personified as a man with a scythe, or who was called Liiva Annus 'Sand Annus.'

754 538 According to the prominent Estonian folklorist, Dr. Oskar Loorits, the least original mythological figure in Estonia is the sorcerer or magician (Estonian nõid, Finnish noita), who can be either man or woman. The ancient nõid was a wise man (tark), a kind of priest and mediator between the spirits, the dead, and the living. He gave good advice to those in trouble and healed

754 sicknesses. Later on, during the long-time
538 slavery under German barons, the nõid became a demon who could bring trouble to the more fortunate people and good fortune to the poor; he could fly through the air or turn into a werewolf. Such fortune-bringing man-made demons have been very popular in Estonian folklore.

538 Tales of giants (hiid) originated in the last
[17] phase of the Iron Age, the Viking era, when con-
776 tacts with the Scandinavians were close. Scandinavian influence in tales of giants has been traced also in northern Russia.

The folk tales of Saaremaa tell of a giant Suur-Toll 'Big Toll' his wife Piret, and their son Noor-Tõll 'Young Tõll.'

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, K. Ganader's Mythologia fennica appeared in German translation and helped to create a

779 were translated. Although the first known Estonian book, Wanradt and Koell's Catechism, dates back to the year 1535, the share of the natives in the production of the printed word during the first two centuries was very insignif-
538 icant. A few occasional secular poems are known, among them one by an Estonian sexton Käsu Hans (1708) in the southern Estonian dialect in which he complains about the destruction of the city of Tartu and the deportation of Estonians by Russians during the Great Northern
[177] War. The language of all this written work was Germanic as molded by foreigners according to the rules of German grammar. During the period of Enlightenment, 1780-1830, the Baltic German literary men produced many sentimental and moralizing stories, according to the taste of the time, which were mostly

[see also cat. 116, -172- p. 171 -- Analyst]

533 eight-syllabled trochee of Estonian folk songs is the most common. The songs of the Setus

177 have five-measure phrases. Folk songs with
533 refrains are found in southern Estonia, and are considered to be of Slavic or Baltic origin. The modern folk songs have mostly nineteenth century melodies, many of which are of German origin.

534 Among the original Estonian musical instruments should be mentioned the popular Finnish-Estonian string instrument, the kannel (Finn-kantele). Some horns, torupill and sokusarv in Estonian, have been used by shepherds for accompanying folk dances, but instrumental folk music is fairly rare in Estonia.

545 Modern Music. An important period in Estonian musical life begins with the Time of

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k,

Sociological Background

RELIGION

000 The basic characteristics of the Estonian folk religion, rudiments of which have survived throughout the Christian era up to the present time, were animism and a close relationship to the dead. Since the beliefs now survive more as popular superstitions and folklore, a fuller description of them may be found in Subparagraph 1h.

• 177 797 The first contacts of the Estonians with Christianity were through the Greek Catholic eastern Slavs, at which time the ancestors of the Setus were converted to the Greek Catholic faith. The overwhelming majority of the Estonians were baptized in the Roman Catholic faith in the first

half of the thirteenth century by German priests
• 177
797 who followed in the footsteps of the German Order of Knights. However, because all of the preaching was carried on in a language foreign to the congregations, the influence of Christianity remained rather superficial unti the reformation, and the people continued to worship their old gods and spirits in the holy woods (hiis).
797 But after 1523, when the reformation arrived in Estonia, even though the ministers were still Germans whose knowledge of Estonian was frequently poor, the Christian religion was nevertheless brought closer to the people and there were attempts to procure religious literature in
[779] the language of the natives. Martin Luther's Small Catechism was published in Estonian in 1535--the first printed book in Estonian--but it took over two hundred years before the whole

Annex "A", Subparagraph 1a,

Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

181 The little group of Votes who have survived so far are primarily small farmers. Living since the beginning of this millenium in the Russian neighborhood and under Russian rule (except during one century of Swedish rule), they have taken over from the Russians their patterns of social life. But they have resisted complete Russification chiefly because the one-sided Russian influence has been counterbalanced by the Balto-Finnic influence of the Ingrians and Finns.

One of the most important influences on the Votes is, or has been at least until the Bolshevist regime, their religion. The Russian Orthodox Church with its lyrical mysticism has completely won them over. The Church has determined their world conception, their sympathies and antipathies and their attitude toward their 186 mother tongue. The Votes treat those of a ● 177 different religion like complete strangers. But 101 they almost identify themselves with the nationalities (Russians and Ingrians) who have the same religion as they have. Since the language of the religion is Russian, they do not seem to regret giving up Votic in favor of Russian.

The predominance of religion in the Votes' world conception has caused confusion in their notions of nationalities. Often the notions of "Greek Catholic" and "Russian" are considered identical. To the question "Are you a Greek

186 Catholic?" they answer "Yes, of course,
177 Russian."
101

They do not consider themselves a special nationality. While some of them call themselves Russian, others again call themselves Ingrian. The Votic girls sing of themselves in Russian: "All the Ingrian girls are beautiful." When filling out questionaires, the Votes used to write as their nationality either "Ingrian" or "Russian." On the whole, it must be stated that they have a strong bent for assimilation with other nationalities. Tsvetkov, a student of the Votic nationality, illustrates this with the following example (p. 43): "A young Ingrian is brought as the wife into a Votic home where Votic is still spoken. And what happens? All the members of the family, even the old, begin to talk Ingrian, and so Ingrian in many households replaces Votic. It is characteristic for a Vote that when speaking with an Ingrian who knows Votic, he willingly starts talking Ingrian."

Due to the loss of their national consciousness, the Votes have lost almost all their national culture, and their specific national features, their national "complexion." Their folklore, customs and national dress have been taken over from their neighbors. The only thing that entitles us still to call them "Votes" is their language. But even this is developing fast toward complete Russification and Ingrianization.

161 visited the Votes before and during the first World War (1913-15), estimates their population to be around 1000. The same is also Prof. Setälä's estimation. The Russian census in 1926 lists only 705 Votes. Lensu, who collected linguistic and folkloristic material among the Votes in 1927-28, estimates their number to be a little more than 500.

177 There is no doubt that the great decrease in the Votes is due to their assimilation with other nationalities of Ingermanland, namely with Russians, Ingrians and Finns. The Finns who live in several Votic villages have constituted the least danger for the Votes' denationalization, mainly due to their religion. Being of a different religion (the Finns are Lutherans and the Votes Greek Orthodox), the inter-marriages as well as any close association between them were, especially in former times, rare. The nearness of the Russians and Ingrians, who are both of the same religion as the Votes, has, however, been fatal to the Votes.

[175] The first considerable Russian settlement in the "Votic Fifth" arose at the end of the fifteenth century. This colonization policy was continued until the Swedish conquest in 1617, when it ceased for a century. During the time of Peter the Great and his successors it was taken up again and pursued even more vigorously than before. The result of this policy was the creation of Votic-Russian mixed villages everywhere in the Votic area, except in the westernmost part. Since the number of Russians constantly increased in these villages, the Votes began to speak Russian, to take over Russian customs, habits

177 and their way of life and, in the long run, they became Russians. This Russification process was furthered by mixed marriages, Russian schools and, as mentioned before, by the common Greek Orthodox creed which brought
361 them close to each other. The Russians, like
177 weeds, overgrew and suffocated the Votic villages. This process appears clearly on the appended map which shows the fate of the Votic villages in the course of the last century. The villages marked in the accompanying map with small dots are those found by Köppen in 1848 to be Votic, but which were Russified by 1913-15 when Prof. Kettunen visited them. It appears that the Russification during a 60-year period has disintegrated many Votic villages. In the villages
197 underlined in the same map, Votic was still
177 spoken at the time of Kettunen's visit. As Kettunen has noticed, Votic was almost exclusively spoken by older people, often side by side with Russian. In the easternmost villages, except for Ikäpäivä, Votic was spoken only by a few dozen people. The use of Votic among the children was in the whole area extremely rare (Kettunen heard it, for instance, in Korvettula). The villages in parentheses are those which a group of scholars of Tartu University (the author of this report included) were found to be Russianized in 1943. Such were the easternmost villages and Kerstova to the extreme south. In the whole Votic area there were no young people to be found who spoke Votic, and even among the older people it was not easy to find those who spoke it well. Votic was best preserved in the central group--in Kattila, Mati, Korvettula
177 and Sauvokkala villages. There will be hardly any doubt that the complete Russification of

177 the Votes will occur in the very near future.

It is possible that the denationalization of the Votes described so far can be partly ascribed to the part played by the Ingrians. The Ingrians, on the whole, appear in greater number in the westernmost Votic villages, so that their influence is especially to be sought there. The "Ingrianization" of Votes has gone farthest in Kukkosi village. Tsvetkov, a Vote [101] himself, tells that the Votes often do not make [186] a distinction between the Ingrians and themselves, but often call themselves "Ingrians." It is possible that the westernmost Votic village will become first Ingrian and only after that will undergo the second metamorphosis--the Russianization.

186 Kettunen has tried to explain the in-
177 clination of the Votes for denationalization. He summarizes it as follows: "The Votes were broken in their spirit upon learning that their neighbors, the Russians, Finns, and Estonians, have books written in their mother tongue and that they have their own schools, while only they, the Votes, have nothing. Such a language is not even worth while to be taught to the children. The Russian Church, on the other hand, has tried to nourish the view that the Votes, just like Orthodox Ingrians, actually belong to the Russians, for they have the same right creed as the Russians have." [1]

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1 See Zsirai: 435.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,

Sociological Background

EDUCATION

871 The Votes, instead of having their national schools, have sent their children to the Russian schools. Tsvetkov writes (p. 42-43): 186 "...the foundation of Russian schools among 177 the Votes did not cause any feeling of enmity among them. The Votic people rather welcomed them, feeling in their isolated situation that it would be easier for them to get acquainted with the mysticism of the Greek Orthodox religion and to understand better their big neighbor....The school penetrated step by step among the people."

871 The Bolsheviks, after coming to power, established in the 1920's special schools for the nationalities. However, no schools for the Votes were founded, probably because of their small number.

were soon forgotten.

177 The Vepsians are strongly Russified, more so than any other Balto-Finnic people. Their language is full of Russianisms, and their appearance and way of life hardly differ from the Russian. They seem to have no nationalistic ideas today and they are steering now toward complete Russification.

More than half a century ago Basilier characterized the Isaijeva Vepsians, who were strongly Russianized at that time, as follows (p. 69): "It seems as if some sorrow were reflecting on the faces of these quiet, good-natured people. Why are they worrying, why mourning? The loss of their nationality, their language? Or because they are just alive? Who knows? But they do not have hope for future, joy for life." The Isaijeva Vepsians have been completely Russified for some time already. Meanwhile, the Russianization of other Vepsian villages is approaching the stage that Russianization had reached among the Isaijeva Vepsians in 1890. The above description may perhaps symbolize also the hopelessness of all the Vepsians at the present time. Only complete cultural autonomy could stop now the disintegration of the Vepsian culture.

Characteristic of the Vepsians is the following episode told by Kettunen. When the election for the Russian Constituent Assembly occurred in 1917, the organizers asked the Vepsians to vote for the Social Revolutionist

177 ticket and they did so with no questions asked. Only one well-to-do farmer asked to have all the ballots read, and then he cast his vote for the Bolshevists.

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Kettunen, Lauri
1918. Matkamuistelmia Vepsän perukoilta. /Memoirs of a Journey in the Vepsian Hinterland. / Virittäjä, pp. 49-50, 103-104. Helsinki.

161 the Isaijeva Vepsians (295) were not included. Finnish scholars considered the Vepsians' number by the end of the czarist regime to be around 25,000, which, however, may be less than their actual number.

The increase of the Vepsians in the 50-year period from 1848 to 1897 was 63.66 per cent, which is less than the average increase of the whole population of this area. Especially low was the increase in the Novgorod government--29.58 per cent. The increase of the Vepsians in the following 30 years, from 1897 to 1926, was even lower than before--28.2 per cent.

What is the reason for this slow increase of the Vepsians?

Let us examine first their natural increase. It has been widely noticed that the Vepsian families have many children. We have exact data from one community in North Vepse, Sheltozero, which would confirm this statement. In the years 1923 to 1926 the birth-rate in Sheltozero per year was 53.4, while the death-rate for the same period was 35.4. The natural increase in this community thus was 18, which was higher than the average increase of 16 in Karelia.

[163] [165]

177 If, despite this considerable natural increase, the number of Vepsians does not show an adequate increase, then the reason for this is to be sought in the russification process. Russification is first of all noticeable in isolated villages, the population of which is

• 177 surrounded by the Russians. Among the 300 Vepsians in Isaijeva village there were in 1887 only 10 persons, all of them older men, who knew Vepsian well. Since the young and middle-aged people spoke only Russian, with the death of the older ones this Vepsian group ceased to exist. This most probably happened at the beginning of this century. Fast russification has been noticeable also in the southernmost Vepsian village, Pjatina (Russian: Pyatino). Kettunen, who first visited this village in 1917, found here a few Vepsians who still spoke their mother tongue. But 17 years later, in 1934, there were only two Vepsian speakers: an old woman who had been brought there from another village and her husband who had learned his language largely from her.

Not only isolated villages, but also the villages in compact Vepsian areas show a clear trend toward russification, especially in the period of Bolshevist rule. The reason for this is the increasing influence of the schools, the press, and radio, the increased number of governmental jobs available which require a knowledge of Russian, service in the Red Army, work in factories, mixed marriages, etc. Even the Soviet authors do not conceal this general trend. Debets, for instance, writes (p. 139): "After the Great October Socialist Revolution...the process of mixture of the Vepsians and the Russians has been especially increased. It is easy to see how individual villages change their national character and change from Vepsian to Russian. So, for instance, the village Kiino in Shola rayon is

177 considered now Russian, but the old people still remember that 'formerly they were Chukhars.' In Syagozero, Oshta rayon, their answer to the question of their nationality is 'Russian,' although they all know Vepsian and use it generally more than Russian." This last statement is especially significant. The fact that the Vepsians are beginning to identify themselves with Russians may in the not too distant future lead to their complete fusion with the Russians.

SOURCES

113

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1890. Vepsäläiset Isaijevan voolostissa. /The Vepsians in Isaijeva Volost./ Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Vol. 8, pp. 60-61.

3: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Vepses

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1e,

Sociological Background

LANGUAGES

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177 Knowledge of foreign languages. Almost all of the Vepsians know Russian. Turunen states (p. 156) that, "The Vepsians have bilingualism in their blood." Russian tends to penetrate even into their everyday life, for the Vepsians sing Russian folk songs, the so-called chastushka, and tell their tales both in Vepsian and Russian. However, the knowledge of Russian is, among the older people, sometimes not very thorough. This appears for instance in loan-translations, some of which bear witness to the confusion of Russian words which are close in sound, such as Vepsian seista 'to stand, to cost' (from Russian stojat' 'to stand', and stoit' 'to cost'); and Vepsian veda- 'to convey, to weigh' (from Russian vezti ' to convey', and vesit' 'to weigh'). The younger generation, however, knows Russian well.

197 Vepsians are linguistically most closely related to the Karelians whose language they can learn to understand completely within a few days. The knowledge of Karelian is more widespread among the North Vepsians who live in the neighborhood of the Karelians and have frequent contact with them.

The Vepsian language and its dialects. Although Vepsian is close to Karelian and Finnish,

3: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Vepses

197 the Russian words. Especially dangerous for the Vepsian language is the great number of Russian translation-loans, i.e. special Russian expressions simply translated into Vepsian.

197 The tendency to replace Russian for Vepsian
177 is clearly noticeable. In 1926, seven per cent of the Vepsians in Leningrad oblast considered themselves Vepsians only by nationality, not by language, for they had adopted Russian in place of their mother tongue. Considering that the percentage of Russified Karelians in 1926 was less than half this number (3.4 per cent), we can see that the Vepsians are especially in danger of losing their language.

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186 place in Livonia under the instigation of Estonian and Finnish academic circles in the 1920's and which gave the Livonians their national flag and anthem and their national cultural society, had a strong unifying influence on the Livonians. Many of the people who up to that time had had little interest in the cause of Livonianism were seized with a patriotic fever and started teaching Livonian to their children and began again to speak their old language in their homes. The struggle for the fulfillment of their national program--the formation of their own county, establishment of their own schools and libraries--compelled them to forget the existing differences and to form a unified Livonian nation. The first national festivals, for instance the so-called flag festival in 1923, demonstrated a strong national enthusiam. But the ensuing oppression of their national movement on the part of the Latvian government soon calmed them down and forced them to take a more realistic attitude toward their national problem. Several less idealistically-spirited Livonians abandoned little by little their national ideals and returned again to the use of the Latvian language.

182 186 Livonianism is rather strong in villages such as Iira, Koshtrõg, and Kuolka, where the majority of the Livonians speak the mother 182 tongue. However, wherever the Livonians form 177 a minority, they show a considerable tendency 578 for assimilation with the Latvians. An example of this is Mustnumm, an almost completely

182 Latvianized Livonian village. In 1930, Loorits found
177 there about ten Livonians, all of whom felt
578 ashamed of their Livonian origin, looked down upon the Livonian language and were even proud that they had forgotten so much of their mother tongue. An arrogant woman ironically demanded from Loorits one Lat for every Livonian word she would say, another jeered even more disdainfully: "What will one get for this language? Land or a house? Geese or only a hen?" And pointing to her house which was being built she continued: "Does this horse language [i.e., Livonian] give the roof on our house or soft sofas in the rooms?" The woman's son swore in Latvian that he would never learn a word of the horse language, that he was not a Livonian but a thoroughbred Latvian and that he would drive the foolish Livonian patriots from the shore into the sea. (Oskar Loortis, "Liivi usundi mandumisprotsess," Virittäjä, 1945, pp. 436-37.)

181 Livonians are basically individualists,
226 but their collectivist bent has strongly devel-
476 oped during the centuries due to their main profession, fishing. Almost all fishing is done collectively, in groups of two to six or more men, since big fishing gear cannot be handled by one person. The fish caught is distributed between all the partners. In addition, large nets and seines are owned collectively.

161 outbreak of the World War in 1914, the total number of the Livonians probably surpassed 3000. The census arranged by the Latvian government in 1920 listed only 866 Livonians. The reason for this low number is to be sought probably in the fact that many Livonians were registered as Latvians by the census takers. The total number of Livonians who knew their mother tongue was at the beginning of the 1920's estimated by Loorits as slightly under 2000, and by Kettunen ca. 1500. This number has decreased during the last decades.

177 The main reason for the decreased number of Livonians is Latvianization. Living among the Latvians, they have little by little given up their language and merged with their stronger neighbors. We do not have any way of knowing just how the Latvianization of the Livonians actually proceeded in Livland, but we have evidence for the result. The denationalization of the Livonians in Kurland, however, can be followed more clearly, especially during the last century. An especially strong Latvianization in Kurland started in the time of the corvée (middle of the last century?) when 70 Livonian farmers were chased out of their ancestral homes for their resistance to the baron of Duondangen, and Latvians were brought in to replace them. Since then the Livonians mixed with the Latvians and Latvian began to be used more and more as their spoken language. Latvianization has been strengthened by mixed marriages and especially

177 by the aggressive policy of denationalization of the Livonians by the Latvian church and schools. Church services have always been held in Latvian, even though the congregation in [191] former times did not understand it. In the schools the Latvian teachers punished the speakers of Livonian by beating them and sending them to stand in the corner. Livonian was [166] laughed at and called the "horse language." An especially strong blow was dealt to Livonianism during the first World War when all the Livonians had to leave their homes and spend several years among the Latvians or the Russians. When after the war they returned to their homes, the younger generation hardly knew any Livonian at all. Loorits, who visited these people in 1920, gives the following description: "Livonian is known in all villages, but it is a half-dead language which is usually not spoken. There are still families who speak Livonian, but even more numerous are those where the children do not know any Livonian at all." (Liivi rahva olevik, p. 76.)

After the war, the academic circles of free Estonia and Finland tried to assist in the preservation of the small Livonian ethnic group, but the Latvians, on the other hand, did everything possible to accelerate their assimi- 177 lation. The Livonians' dream of having their 668 own county was, after great efforts made by the Livonians, finally granted by one Latvian government but refused by the next one. Lead-

177 ing Livonian patriots were investigated and
[668] frequently molested by the police. The teaching of Livonian was to some extent tolerated in the schools (two hours a week as an elective), but the futility of it was preached incessantly.
[517] In the 1930's there developed a nationally conscious Livonian intelligentsia under Estonian and Finnish schooling, but they were not given teachers' posts in their own villages. The Latvians also refused to pay regular salaries to teachers of the Livonian language but gave them only pocket money. In answer to the Livonians' petitions to grant them some money for printing books in Livonian, a big library in Latvian was sent to them. In Livonian villages four branches of the Latvian cultural societies were organized. The above-mentioned measures all served one purpose: the quick Latvianization of the handful of Livonians still left.

[166] During the second World War the Livonians were sent again away from their seacoast homes to their neighbors, the Latvians. Undoubtedly this again deprived them of many of their kinsmen. The complete Latvianization of the few Livonians who have remained is, at any rate, a question of only a few decades.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 4,
Sociological Background

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

531 Folk art. Livonian folk art is rather meagre. If we compare the Livonian national dress, which is now completely out of use, with the Estonian and Latvian dress we can see that the Livonian clothing is far inferior in beauty. The same poverty appears also in the Livonian wooden articles. The small Livonian tribe has not been able to maintain its traditional popular art, nor has it accepted any fruitful influences from the Latvian folk art. But when the Livonians long ago were an independent people, the situation was quite different. Much silver jewelry was found in their former habitat, which gives evidence of the careful work, the variety of form and the artistic talent of the early Livonians.

533 Folklore. The lion's share of the present
J77 Livonian song repertoire is simply translated from Latvian, but original songs are rare. Old features common to Estonian and Finnish songs have not been preserved. Interesting perhaps is the inclination of the Livonians toward the alliterative beginning rhyme, which is typical of Balto-Finnic folk songs. Many of the Latvian songs were borrowed by them a few generations ago, so that they now have a firm Livonian popular tradition already. Some of the Latvian folk songs (the old four-

533 line songs, or dainas, and the later romances,
●177 or zinges) have come to the Livonians by way
[191] of literature. Several songs are sung by the Livonians in two languages--Livonian and Latvian. Some of the Livonian songs have been borrowed from the Estonians in Saaremaa, and a very few from the Germans.

533 The most vital among the Livonian folk songs sung in the native language are the children's songs. The more Latvian gained ground as the language of public life and the more Livonian was confined to home use, the more have the former Livonian songs passed over into the children's repertoire.

The women, who have stuck closer to home and had less contact with the outside world, have had less opportunity to learn Latvian, and, as a result, are the last and only bearers of the folk song tradition. But a few decades ago even the women began to sing to their children the Latvian songs and to teach them Latvian, so as to prepare them for their future life.

177 The Livonians still sing their old songs
533 on Easter morning. On other occasions, however, the songs are sung mainly in Latvian. This holds true especially of the wedding songs for which Latvian singers have been brought from the inland area. This was occurring even some time ago when the majority of the wedding guests did not even understand much Latvian. Many love songs also are sung in Latvian.

[177] The Livonian fairy tales are, in the main, 538 borrowed from Latvian. Telling tales and 517 different kinds of stories and anecdotes is a favorite Livonian pastime, practiced at home, on visits, in taverns and on fishing trips. The Livonians also enjoy telling proverbs and riddles.

214 Literature. The Livonian literature is also very scanty. The only book in Livonian until recent times was the translation of the Gospel of Matthew, published in 1863 by the [197] British Bible Society. This appeared in two dialects and was translated by the teachers Prinz from Piza (western dialect) and Pollmann from Koshtrõg (eastern dialect). The orthography was based on Sjögren, the first scholar who studied Livonian in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1880 appeared a new edition of this book in the eastern dialect in the Latvian orthography. In the early 1920's several Livonian readers (Esimene liivi lugemik 'The First Livonian Reader,' etc.) were published by the Academic Society of the Mother Tongue in Estonia. The Estonian Temperance Society also published a few books for the Livonians, including a play dealing with temperance. Later the Finns began the publication of Livonian books of which the most significant are the Jemakiel lugdõbraantõz ('The Reader of the Mother Tongue,' Helsinki 1935) by P. Damberg, and the translation of almost all of the New Testament by K. Stalte (Helsinki, 1937). K. Stalte also published

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

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The Livonians are all literate, thanks to the schools. In the twenties there was one elementary school in Kuolka, Ire and in Piza. Before the first World War the number of schools was even greater; there was one school in Piza and two schools in both Kuolka and Ire. These schools were Latvian and served the cause of Latvianization. Livonian was taught only two hours a week as an elective.

The Livonian children who wished to continue their education attended the high school in Dondangen or went even farther away to Talsen or Windau. Before the first World War there was a naval school in Ire. Several of these educated seamen of various ranks
•[177] have been ardent patriots. Other educated Livonians, however, who have gotten jobs in Latvian towns as postal clerks, or in other positions have usually been completely Latvianized.

SOURCES

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Kajava, Yrjö, et al.

1928. Liiviläiset. [The Livonians.] In

771 religion is based on a belief in nature spirits, beliefs about the dead, and a belief in magic. These beliefs form the cornerstones of the
•[177] Livonian folk religion. As Loorits has shown, the Livonian folk religion has been exposed to very strong foreign influences (Kur, Latvian, German, etc.), whereas the genuine Proto Balto-Finnic inheritance in it is comparatively small.

776 For the Livonians nature appears animated, filled with all kinds of spirits. Almost every natural phenomenon has its mother. Thus there are mothers for snow, wind, earth, flax, forests, berries, the sea, etc. Fathers are, however, rare among the spirits (e.g. the forest father, sea father, etc.). Since the sea plays an especially prominent role in the Livonians' life, sea spirits are most numerous in the folk beliefs. Besides the sea mother and sea father, there are sea people, who live as the people on the earth do. The sea maidens bathe and dance in the waves and tend the blue seacows. There are also horses in the sea whose names are used to scare the children. The children of Pharaoh, the successors of the troops of the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea while chasing the Israelites, are supposed to be part human and part fish.

The Livonian spirits are completely anthropomorphic and their life is similar to the life of the people themselves. They have their houses, gardens and animals, their own

776 social classes, kings and castle ladies, farm hands and maidens, even priests and an army. The spirits are divided, too, on the model of a family, into fathers, mothers, sons and
• [777] daughters. The spirits have preserved only a little of their heathen origin, but show a strong Catholic influence. Several of them have been taken over from Latvian, such as the God's sons, the sun's daughters, the mother of happiness, etc.

[777] 775 The Livonians' beliefs concerning the dead are strongly influenced by the Latvians. Widespread is the conception of death as a special being (novõ) which predicts the death of the people by noise. The Livonians believe that the body of the dead stays in the grave until the resurrection, but the soul goes during the knell into heaven or wanders through the world. When the dead is taken to the graveyard, other dead come to meet him riding on the animal which was killed for the burial. They sit sometimes on the coffin, which therefore becomes
[764] quite heavy. The dead person accompanies the burial procession back to the house door or even enters the room. For him a towel, an empty plate and a spoon are put on the end of the table which is closest to the door. Some people are believed to be able to see the dead during the burial. The time between Michaelmas and St. Martin's Day is called "souls' time," since the dead are then roaming around. In former times it was customary to feed the dead with porridge, bread, beer and milk every

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Estonians R64

quite a number of prominent left-wing intellectuals to whom Moscow had surrendered the leading governmental posts in the country, in the absence of genuine die-hard communists. Thus the well-known Estonian historian, Hans Kruus, was at first Deputy Prime Minister of Soviet Estonia, and later Foreign Minister. The poet, Johannes Semper, was Soviet Estonia's first Minister of Education. The writer and poet, Johannes Barbarus (Vares), was President of Soviet Estonia until his death in 1947.

All these and other leading officials of the Estonian S.S.R. used to be people of considerable standing in 'bourgeois Estonia'. They were both pro-Russian and pro-Communist, but they were also imbued with Estonian national traditions. They had all been reared in the spirit of the literary movement 'Young Estonia' (Noor Eesti), which had been both progressive and cosmopolitan in character. Its principal slogan used to be: 'More culture, more European culture. Be Estonians, but be Europeans as well'.[36] Estonian literature had been much more influenced by Western writers and poets than by Russian ones. To be cut off from Western contacts was therefore an unbearable thought to intellectual communists such as Johannes Semper, who had translated into Estonian the works of Victor Hugo, Emile Zola and Verhaeren.

Another tradition dear to all Estonians is that connected with the National Song Festival the first of which was held in 1869 and was the first great manifestation of Estonian nationhood. Even many Estonian communists thought that the festival, which was celebrated both under the Czarist régime and in the independent Estonian Republic, ought to be preserved as an expression of the artistic genius of the Estonian people. The Twelfth Estonian Song Festival of 1947, the first to be held in Soviet Estonia, was organized by people whom one could with some exaggeration describe as national Estonian communists. Under their leadership the festival made ideological concessions to the Soviet régime, but it was at least Estonian in form. Russian songs and Russian choirs had been kept out of it.

The central authorities of the U.S.S.R. could not in the long run tolerate this attitude of the Estonian intellectual *élite*, its attempt to reconcile communism with friendliness towards Western European culture. As soon as the situation was ripe, the régime had to strike its blow against the recalcitrant Estonian communists and establish total ideological uniformity in Estonia. In the spring of 1950, on the eve of a new Song Festival, the régime considered that the moment was appropriate for a big shake up. The men who in June, 1940, had lent themselves so willingly as tools of the Soviet régime were removed from their posts. The same fate was meted out even to all the Moscow-trained Estonian communists who had not given proof of sufficient vigilance in the discovery of nationalist trends in the Estonian S.S.R.

177.47 - 177.87

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

721 725 from Estonia tell that armed resistance continued in Estonia through 1946. In the winter of 1946-47 large-scale "tactial maneuvers" were organized and the forests along Lake Peipus and in Alutaguse, Virumaa, as well as in Pärnumaa and Võrumaa were combed. These operations broke the large-scale resistance of the Forest Brothers.

727 6661 177, 47 474 The Second Soviet Occupation continued where the first had ended, only the Soviets were now much more self-confident and violent and they had more time. Everything that even slightly resembled the Western economic and cultural systems had to be changed to match the USSR's Estonian agriculture was collectivized with the help of a large-scale mass deportation in March, 1949. Without such measures of terror the Soviets could not break the resistance of the

727 Estonian farmers who were attached to their
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177 homes and land, bought with hard labor from the
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474 German estate owners some generations before. With the collectivization of agriculture the Estonian farm owners have become attached to the large kolkhozes, and Estonian industry has been organized according to the needs of the Soviet Union, its production going mainly to the USSR.

871 Political indoctrination is carried out in all
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208 schools from kindergarten through the university; persecution of the Church seemed to be much more obvious now than it was during the First Occupation.[1]

642 The members of the government of the Esto-
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nian SSR and other Communist officials who escaped to Russia when the Germans occupied Estonia, returned and resumed their duties as

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 57-65 -- Analyst]

000 been interesting to watch the results of this kind of occupation-class representation, but it was in effect too short a time for any conclusion to be drawn concerning its effectiveness.

177. At the present time there is nothing left in
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565 the Estonian SSR of the former class divisions, the political parties or other social organizations. Classes at the present time are those of the Soviet Union: the large workers' class and the hierarchy of the privileged members of the Communist Party, the Red Army, the MVD (secret police) and other Communist officials.

474 Among the most important organizations in
241 Estonia were the co-operative enterprises, which were started as early as the National Awakening[1] in the middle of the nineteenth

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 26-30 -122- -- Analyst]

642 Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and J. Lauristen was named chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars, the re-organized Council. Minor amendments to the Constitution were made in 1947.

[177, 64] [642] With the enforcement of the Constitution of the Estonian SSR, which is actually the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. with certain minor adjustments, the people were deprived of their democratic system. There is probably no such constitution in the world where such a chasm exists between the provisions of the constitution and the actual practice of the government. The Constitution of the Estonian SSR is quite liberal on paper, but in actuality the citizens are without liberties. Some examples will illustrate this. In Article 15 of the Constitution, "The Estonian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2b,

Political Background

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

177 Government in the Estonian SSR is the same
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642 as in all the republics of the Soviet Union.

646 The legislative branch of parliament is the Supreme Soviet (Ülemnõukogu), consisting of deputies, elected by the people, one for every 10,000 citizens, for a term of four years. The candidates are nominated by the Communist Party. The Supreme Soviet elects its Presidium and Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet convene twice a year.

645 The executive and administrative branch is the Council of Ministers, which is responsible to the Supreme Soviet. Formerly the Ministers were called the People's Commissars. There

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

814 Estonian Academy of Sciences was short-lived--it was one of the numerous institutions and societies liquidated by Soviet occupation authorities in 1940.

177. .87 871 Societ occupation meant an end to free and independent thinking in Estonian schools as well as in public life. Nowadays the youth of Soviet Estonia is being molded on the basis of five main principles: 1) education must be strictly anti-religious; 2) it must be based on Communist morality as opposed to the bourgeois or Western morality; 3) Soviet patriotism must be taught; 4) the Communist collectivist doctrine is to be expounded; and 5) a militant internationalism must be indoctrinated. The most important task of the Soviet school therefore appears now to be political indoctrination.

In the beginning, the Communists had plans

177 for completely eliminating illiteracy in Estonia
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871 but their schemes were dropped when they realized that illiteracy in Estonia was no problem. The carefully built-up school system of Estonia was changed overnight to conform to the school system of the USSR. The duration of elementary school remained the same. An extra year was added to elementary school and this seven-year course was called an incomplete secondary school; after ten years of schooling the student is considered ready for the university.

874 The vocational school system of Estonia, unfamiliar to the Soviet officials, was liquidated. Only the well established and popular College of Domestic Science at Tallinn was left in operation and re-named the Food Polytechnic.

New types of Soviet schools, called factory schools, and schools for future kolkhoz

871 of qualified teachers, and the lack of textbooks.
727 Approximately 25 per cent of the schoolhouses had been heavily damaged in the war, and in a considerable number of others the Soviet troops and officers had been housed. Many teachers had left the country as refugees, thus creating a situation whereby many of the elementary school teachers were placed in high school jobs, vacancies in elementary schools being filled in turn by people who themselves had only elementary school educations. All textbooks used in pre-Communist Estonia were called in and destroyed as dangerous "bourgeois nationalistic" relics.

177, 87, 871 New subjects taught in Estonian SSR schools are Russian, the Soviet Constitution and Soviet history. Languages now taught are Russian first and German as the second foreign language.

177.87 English occupies third place, and many schools
871 have dropped it entirely. Great emphasis is put on military training for boys and girls, this being started in the third grade. At numerous celebrations, shooting competitions between youthful teams are often part of the programs.

All schools are subordinated to the Ministry
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871 of Education (formerly Commissariat) of the Estonian SSR, which in turn receives its orders from Moscow.

883 The national and international youth organiza-
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628 tions, such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, the YMCA and the YWCA, as well as all school clubs have been closed, and some reports have indicated that Estonian children are forced to join such Communist organizations as The Children of October, for children from 7 to 10 years; the Pioneers, for children from 10 to 15

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

000 destroyed.

874 In the summer of 1940, and again in 1944 after
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661 the Nazi-German occupation, Tartu University became the State University of the Estonian SSR, subordinate to Moscow. The most striking losses during this war period had been suffered by the University's staff. There were only 23 professors and 19 docents and lecturers left of the entire prewar university staff--the rest of the staff were dead of deported (37), in exile (90), or had completely disappeared (22). All the instructors were purged and the undesirable elements among them were deported. Many instructors were brought in from the Soviet Union to fill those jobs formerly held by Estonian educators.

177. Fundamental changes have taken place in the
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874 organization of the University. The Faculty of

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

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Theology has been closed. The Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science has been split in two parts: the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics and the Faculty of Biology and Geography. The Faculty of Economics has been transferred to the Polytechnic Institute in Tallinn, while the Faculty of Forestry has been made independent. A chair of Marxism-Leninism has been created and all students and instructors are required to attend classes and pass examinations in this subject. Although there is still a Rector, the real power of the University is now with the holder of the chair of Marxism-Leninism. All the extensive foreign contacts of Tartu University--the exchange of publications with over 2,000 scientific institutions--were put under the control of Moscow and were discontinued in many cases.